/xiv cont./

124 individuals as informants, both men and women, in various parts of La Guajira Peninsula, the natural habitat of the Indians to whom we refer. They have, consequently, at least a margin of sufficiently high reliability, as the check thus obtained allowed for the clarification, confirmation, and correction of all data which were taken down in the preliminary study.

114 We would have liked to start this monograph with a description however brief of the geographical surroundings in which the Indians of La Guajira live, but on this subject we would refer the reader to the previous number of this review in which he will find an article written by my husband, licentiate Roberto Pineda Giraldo, entitled Aspects de la Magía en la Guajira /Aspects of Magic in La Guajira/, in which there is a brief summary of the geography of the peninsula. However, in some of the chapters of this treatise certain references to the geography of the peninsula will be found, as we have considered them to be indispensable for clearing up certain social and economic phenomena which otherwise would have remained obscure, because the economy, as will be gathered from reading this present work, plays a very important part in the functioning of Guajiro institutions.

128 The reader, furthermore, will find certain repetitions in the different aspects treated herein, but this is also due to our desire to leave nothing ambiguous or unclear. Many of the conflicting situations faced by the individual, occurring at different times and in regard to various legal institutions, have given rise to different reactions and phenomena which we felt needed clarification, and consequently we have been obliged to repeat them on the different occasions when they have had to be considered.

58 182 It may also be observed that the chapter on marriage is the longest of all, and it is in that very chapter that most repetitions and references to past and future reported situations will be found. Marriage in La Guajira may be considered to be the basis of all social organization, for it is via marriage /xv/

[120 cont.]

843 There is another series of magic acts related to those recently enumerated, which also share the qualities of another individual but which differ from them in two aspects: first because they are indirect, that is, because the child receives them through his mother during the period of gestation; second because they are not so directly related with the notion of mana but could be included in what we might call phenomena of auto-suggestion because they only consist of one sudden impression or a strong unsatisfied desire which causes anguish. Some of these are the following.

When a woman is pregnant and she gets a strong shock through the sudden apparition of someone, the child when born will have the same skin color as the person who has startled her.

On the other hand, if during her pregnancy, especially [845] during the early months, the mother should be greatly frightened, twins will be born to her. In this aspect regarding twins, there is also the belief that these are born when the woman has been [853] asked and has refused to give the breast to a twin child whose own mother was unable to feed it.

Finally, when during the time of her pregnancy a woman has a very strong desire to possess something, as for instance a dress, a necklace, any special or particular kind of ornament, and she searches anxiously for it but does not find it and so does not satisfy her wish, her child will be born under the influence of her unfulfilled desire and will carry on its face the dissatisfied look of its mother: He will have his mouth half open, an anxious look, and will be continually crying and upset. [121]

VIII

Magic as the Origin of the Theater in La Guajira (The Dance of the Kid)

121 It may perhaps be overbold to use the title which heads this chapter, and this may even apply to the contents and the statements which we make in it, because here some concepts will be confused which could be treated separately, such as the

[121 cont.]

differentiation between magic and religion, and between play as such and drama. But these four things are so interlaced that it is not possible to take each one of these aspects separately for analysis or even for presentation. If the whole appears clear we shall be satisfied. Our intention in this study has been to present facts in the most objective manner possible without neglecting, obviously, to interpret at times when it has seemed necessary or when we have felt capable of doing so.

As we have said, whether what is presented in the Dance of the Kid is magic or religion, it is a matter that might lend itself to Byzantine discussions by which nothing of the subject would be cleared up. On the contrary, they would further confuse it and take away opportunities to make known one of the most interesting aspects of the spiritual life of the Guajiro, in which are broken many of their social traditions, or rather their everyday cultural patterns, and in which they have an opportunity to show their dexterity more than their capacity as actors, since it must not be thought that what we have described as theater is such in the true sense of the word but rather corresponds to the beginnings of that art, the beginning of representations, without finality in themselves but as propitiation of rain and good harvests, as integral parts of a complete ritual which includes dances, songs, and representations of natural scenes or incidents taken from mythology.

What has given us occasion to call this theater or, if one prefers, drama is the concurrence in the representation of scenes of a small number of the participants at the Fiesta, or Dance, of the Kid and the presence of a great number of the other participants who fill the role of spectators. [122]

It also frequently occurs that each group that takes part in the play is headed by a minstrel, or singer, who narrates each event as it occurs; the language he employs is dramatic, and he uses the most attractive turns of speech. The verbal music is added to the drama though not in the form of massed choirs but is expressed by each of the leaders who guide the actions of the participants in the scene that is being represented. Unfortunately, these songs have not been traditionally preserved but are rather improvised for the occasion. Only the music has endured

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3. M. Gusinde. "Bericht über meine südafrikanische Forschungsreise 1950/51 /Report on My South African Field Trip, 1950-51/," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 388-404.

Vienna, who at that time was with the Internat. F.A.O. for Colombia, had been very helpful to me. Soon after our auto journey together through that dried-up peninsula, he died unexpectedly. My thanks to him are thus expressed here posthumously.

● 128 Only a selection from my ethnographic observations among the Guajiro people are presented here. They are preceded by what has already been ascertained on the same subjects by other authors.

1. Earlier Reports

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175 At the time of the discovery of the New World, the Guajiro were the /532/ branch of the Aruak /Arawak/ group that had pushed farthest to the northwest on South American soil. Before the Conquest they obtained their livelihood from hunting and fishing, together with some agriculture. Animal husbandry, however, acquired considerable ascendancy through the introduction of domestic animals at the time of the Spanish colonization. Juan de Castellanos reported that as early as the period of his sojourn there (around 1550) quite a large quantity of livestock was present. Since then, and up to our day, this economic activity has undergone no structural change worth mentioning; at present, however, far-reaching efforts at accommodation to the so-called Western manner of thinking and way of life are seen (4).

4. Cf. Vegamian, Crist (1958 and 1959), José Augustín de Barranquilla, and others.

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193 194 614 [128] a foreign observer encounters slight variations — as has just been mentioned. For this reason, in the table (p. 5) I put in the names corresponding with precisely the sounds that I heard most frequently; I have taken the map (p. 9) unchanged from the original.

614 101 178 101 578 614 marks are found in the table. Every Guajiro knows them. As an established tradition, every generation has taken over the details from the others, either as clan property or as a duty. But as a result of so many hostile encounters of the clans with one another — the Guajiro even in early times made themselves known as very quarrelsome — the boundaries of the individual clan-districts have shifted. Some clans have actually disappeared, either because their members were entirely destroyed or because individuals from them were incorporated into other clans. Therefore, the number and boundaries of the individual clan-districts were and are subject to insignificant fluctuations. I was unable to ascertain when the map provided — taken from a Colombian authority — was drawn; it appears to have come out around 1935. It is also found in V. Gutiérrez (p. xvi).

3. Concluding Remarks

614 Spanish writers have reported on "castas" in Guajira from the early colonial period; the designation corresponds to actual totemistic clans. Recently it could be demonstrated that some thirty of them have existed since antiquity. The members of any one clan were entitled by common law to move freely over the whole peninsula without being hindered [423] by the boundaries. When Petrullo (p. 155) states unmistakably,